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THE
SENSE
OF AN
ENGLISHMAN
ON THE
Pretended Coalition
OF
PARTIES,
And on the
Merits of the WHIG Interest.



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T H E

Sense of an ENGLISHMAN

O N T H E

Pretended Coalition of Parties,

And on the

Merits of the WHIG Interest.

TH E pretended *Coalition of Parties*, though usher'd in with all the Pomp of Patriotism, and adorned with the highest Panegyricks, appearing big with Destruction to the whole *Whig Interest*; I have thought my self concerned, as an *Englishman*, and as a *Whig*, to examine the Merits of this Interest, and the Dangers which threaten the present Constitution, from every Attempt to destroy that Cause, by which it hath always been supported.

All Constitutions, or Political Establishments, are no otherwise to be supported, than by competent Numbers interested in their Preservation: And though a free Government must, from its happy Effects, naturally interest the whole People to preserve it; yet the People are governed by Dependencies on great Estates in the Country, and on great Dealers in Trading Towns; they give their Suffrage

to those who give them Bread, and take their Impressions from those on whom they have a Dependence.

From hence the *Landed Men*, the *Monyed Men* and the *Clergy*, respectively acquire an Influence upon the private Interests of the People; an Influence which may withdraw the People from their Publick Interests, when Ambition or unreasonable Views possess great Numbers of leading Men amongst them.

It will then be apparent, that though the *Protestant Succession* hath produced ever so many Advantages to the *British Nation*, and though it be the greatest Good which the *People of Britain* can desire; though it be the Interest of the whole Nation to preserve and perpetuate this happy Establishment; though Men must be deprived of human Sense and Reflection, who do not see the Benefits of it to be infinitely greater, than all that could be boasted of under different Titles, or under former Governments: Yet if there be a number of great Estates in the Country, or of great Dealers in Trading Towns; if there be a Part of the leading Gentlemen, or others, whose Ambition or unreasonable Views, whose Resentments, whose Prejudices or Mistakes have drawn them away from their strict Duty, and have made them averse or indifferent to the Support of the Establishment; that Part of the People, however numerous they may be, whose private Interests are in the Power of these leading Persons, will be seduced from
the

the just Sense of their publick Interests, and by such Means a Nation may become, in a dangerous Degree, disaffected to its own Happiness.

All Measures of Government are liable to Opposition to Misrepresentation, and to abusive Constructions. Intentions which never enter'd into the Heart of Man, are often laid to the Charge of Ministers; and Events which none could ever foresee, or which, if any could foresee, the wisest could not prevent, are objected to the Wisdom and Fidelity of an Administration. Wars abroad, and Evils at home, create Discontent; and Discontent is improved upon by Disaffection. Now when Ambition or Animosity in the Leaders of the People concurs with the Accidents and Inconveniencies of Times; when Persons on whom Numbers depend for Subsistence, impose on the Understandings, and enflame the Passions of those whom they subsist; when Gentlemen of Influence in their Countries, or Men of great Credit in Commerce, shall authorize Misrepresentations, shall avouch injurious Clamours; and by their Invention supply the Fuel, whilst by their Harangues they blow the Fire of publick Discontent: How is it possible that many of the People can be otherwise than misled? Or, how can the wisest, mildest, and most equal Government prevent Divisions and Dissatisfaction, from being the Grievances of their Times?

If

If then it is certain, that the *Protestant Succession*, this present most happy Establishment, this which is the Life and Soul of our Constitution, without which our Laws must die, and our Liberties be extinguish'd, that this *great publick Interest* is liable to Injury, from the Ambition, the Animosities, or wrong Judgments of Leading Men; if Multitudes are govern'd by the Dictates of such ill-designing, or ill-judging Leaders; if private Discontent is hereby improved into publick Discontent; and so far as the Power or Persuasion of such Leaders prevails, the *Sentiments of Faction* must eternally become the *Sense of the People*. The Constitution must in the Train of Events be dissolved, before its natural Period, unless the Principle which gave it Life continue to preserve its Being, by engaging a vigorous Party of Leading Men, in defending the Common Cause, who shall draw their Dependents to the Support of its Interest, against the Leaders and the Numbers which endeavour to shake its Foundation.

This is a Demonstration of the Necessity of keeping up a *Whig Interest*; and if the *Protestant Succession* can only be supported by the Strength and Union of Gentlemen, who have Power and Credit with the People; if it is best to be supported by their zealous Endeavours to prevent its Enemies from hurting it; if there will be always an Opportunity for Enemies to hurt it,
when

when such are admitted to exercise Authority under it; and if it be proposed to admit the Party which withstood the Establishment of this Succession, into an equal Share, or common Possession of Power, with the contrary Party to whom that Establishment of the Succession is owing: The Consequence is inevitable, it is a Truth most apparent, that Half the Security of the Constitution would be thereby surrendered to its Enemies, who from that Moment must become, at least, a Match for its Friends; and having attained such a Share of publick Authority, would employ it in continuing the Contest to possess themselves of the Whole.

For, whilst there is a *Protestant Succession*, and a *Popish Pretender*; while one hath its Trust in the *Whigs*, and the other in the *Tories*; whilst it is the natural Byass of *Whigs*, to be the Friends of the present Royal Family, and the Byass of the *Tories* to be Opposites; whilst the native Principles of one Side, the Education, Fortunes, and Plan of Power pecaliar to that Party, incline them strongly to this *Parliamentary Title*; and whilst the same Byass on the other Side draws them as forcibly to the old *Hereditary Right*; whilst one would establish a *Church or Prerogative Interest*, and the other a *popular Government*: So long as this shall subsist, in the Reason and Nature of Things, a COALITION OF PARTIES will

will be alike impracticable with a *Coalition* of Popish and Protestant RELIGIONS, or *Popish* and *Protestant* SUCCESSIONS; from whence it may be most reasonably concluded, that the *Prince on the Throne* may as well think of sharing his Scepter with the *Pre-tender*, as of sharing his Administration between *Whigs* and *Tories*, between Parties of a different Growth and Complexion, of opposite Principles, and irreconcilable Interests.

There can be no Doubt, that *such a Coalition* must be the best Prospect which the *worst Cause* can afford to its Well-wishers; and Men who despaired of being able to hurt the Establishment, must embrace an Alliance, with cordial Satisfaction, which adds to their Numbers and encreases their Strength. Such a *Coalition* promises them *a King* of their own, more naturally than it promises their Collegues *a Ministry*; and the present Business, wholly consisting in a general Design to destroy the present Ministry, advances their Hopes of being able to proceed a *greater Length*, even to the *Destruction of the present Royal Family*.

In this View of Affairs, without Repugnancy to their Principles and Interests, the *Tories* may at any time safely join with *angry Whigs*: They may wisely dissemble *Tory* Sentiments, and fight against the *Whig Interest*, as by its own Weapons, so by its own Deserters. They would be weak beyond

yond Measure did they decline such Advantages ; or did they refuse to set up a Standard, or to set forth a Manifesto, which, however different from their proper Ensigns, or contrary to their real Intentions, may delude the Adherents of the opposite Cause, either to unite with them, or at least not to oppose them. They would be as weak did they not receive, with open Arms, the *Angry* and the *Mutinous* of the Party with whom they contend ; since such bring with them *Rage* as well as *Force* to carry on the Strife : And thus far *Tories* may ally themselves with *Whigs* ; thus far the *Coalition* will agree to assault the Constitution. But carry this further, carry it to a Supposition of their Success, that they and their Allies the *Whig Deserters* shall prevail, shall destroy a *Whig Administration*, and displace its *Whig Friends* : When in this Manner they have seized upon the Power of the State, and have the Constitution in their Hands ; how is it probable that they will dispose of it ? Will *Tories* be *Whigs*, when they have no Inducement to dissemble, when they have no Restraint upon their Declarations ? And when the greater part of the *Whigs* shall be ruined, will such *Tories* take their Laws from the lesser ? Will they have such Gratitude for their Allies as to suffer these *Deserters* from the vanquish'd to be the *Commanders* of the victorious Party ? And if the *Tories* in all Events may chuse to abide

by their own Principles, what will become of the *boasted Coalition*, and what will be the Fate of the *Whigs*, but to see their *Principles* buried in the Ruins of their Power?

How must the Body of the *Tories* reason and conclude amongst themselves could they succeed, and improve Opposition into Conquest? Must they not agree in Opinion universally, that they are, in such a Case, the very same *Tories* which they had been in former Times? That having opposed all the Measures of the *Whig Ministers*, under Pretences, that the *Whigs in Power* had acted against their own *Whig Principles*, they nevertheless in all this had done nothing but what, as *Tories*, they ought to have done? And would they not know, that they had established no *Whig Principles*; that they had advanced no *Whig Projects*; that though the *Whigs* had brought *Tories* into Parliament in Opposition to *Whigs*; yet that on the other Hand, they, the *Tories*, had brought no *Whigs* into Parliament in opposition to *Tories*; but that they had widen'd the Divisions, and lessen'd the Interest, whilst they destroy'd the Dominion of the *Whigs*, taking Strength from them and giving none to them?

If then they succeed in their Endeavours to wrest all Power out of the Hands of the *Whigs*, must not these *Tories* return to their *Tory Constituents*, and approve themselves zealous *Tories* to the End of the World? Must they not institute *Stooper Clubs*, to heat the
 Brains

Brains and keep up the Fire of their Party? Must they not declare for *Uniformity* in the Church, and *Prerogative* in the State; declare for the Church against the Dissenters, and set the Regal Powers above the Laws of the Kingdom? Must they not apply to the jealous Apprehensions of the Clergy; and, enflaming their Resentment, purchase their Friendship by sacrificing their *Nonconforming Brethren*? Must they not have the Politics of the Faction recommended from *Parliamentary* and *Parochial* Pulpits? Must they not provide wholesome Restraints to check the Liberty of the Press, and bring all Kinds of Printing under the Jurisdiction of a Licenser? Must they not introduce their ancient Friends into Parliament, and their chosen Disciples into Publick Trust; till quarrelling amongst themselves for Pre-eminence of Power, they call for a *new Prince* to decide the Controversy, and betray the Counsels of the present; as the most proper Expedient of introducing his Rival, the most reasonable Means of avenging themselves of their own Competitors, and the most natural Issue of a *Tory Ministry*? For, as it is the Measure of angry transported *Whigs* to conjure up a *new Party* in the State, it is the last Resort of the *Tories*, when they quarrel amongst themselves, to conjure up a *new Idol* in the Throne; who, being the Deity of their Creation, may suit his Oracles to the Will of his Worshippers.

To suppose, that *Tories* could come into Power, and not be disposed to keep up their Party by courting a *Church Interest*, and asserting a *Divine Right*, is to suppose that they have forgot their Education, have unlearned their Arts of Policy, and have lost all the Numbers which they once misled, by enslaving them against the *Dissenters*, and by enslaving them to an *Ancient Prerogative*. Or, it must suppose, that they have taught their Disciples *Lessons of good Sense*, against the Fraud and Imposture of their own former Conduct; and that they will rather chuse to govern Men by the Strength of Reason, than by the Force of Bigotry; that they will disclaim all their ancient Maxims of Power, and submit to be judged by the Principles of Liberty; and that they will not be allured, by any Prospects of Ease and Success, to blind the Understandings, or to take away the Rights of the People; though such Proceedings would not only be convenient to their Interests, but strictly conformable to their ancient Usage.

LET Gentlemen consider how *Protestants* seduce *Papists*, and they will see the Perversi-
on of *Whigs*, by the Artifice of *Tories*, exactly in the same Light. Did ever *Papist* apply to a Protestant with Arguments in Favour of *Torture on the Rack*, of *Burning at the Stake*, or of any of the *wholsome Severities* practised by an Inquisition? Does not such an Emissary always disguise and soften such Points, when he

he applies himself to draw Men away from the Principles of the Reformation; knowing from Experience, and unerring Judgment, that if he can but once make his Pupil a *Bigot* to the main Articles of Superstition, this *Bigot* will soon be a *Zealot* for all the Supports of Superstition and having confirm'd him a *Papist*, Persecution will gain its Ascendant over his Mind by a natural Consequence; nay, it will be amiable in his Eyes, when *Poper*y hath gain'd Possession of his Heart, how much soever it shocked him in the first Approaches. Hence let him stipulate ever so strongly, to be a *Papist* without becoming a Persecutor, he will find that when he is the former, he will be the *latter* of Course. In the same Manner it will follow, that no one can be a *Tory*, but he will be *High Church*; and that how tender soever he might be of invading *Toleration* whilst he was a *Whig*, he will be for extinguishing the very Name of *Dissenters* when he is a *Tory*. A Truth which we may be assured of, from the known and remarkable Story of that Person whose *puzzling Pen* is employ'd to confound *Whigs* and *Tories*, and who first came into the World not only as a *Whig*, but as a *Dissenter*; yet carried, by irregular Ambition, astray from his natural Principles, of a *Whig* he became a *Tory*, and instead of being a *Dissenter*, became the Head of an *High-Church* Interest, appeared foremost in punishing *Occasional Conformity*, and was the Father of the *Schism Bill*.

But

But supposing these Patriots to come into Power with any Disposition to protect *Dissenters* in their legal Rights, yet, could such a Disposition be indulged, without deceiving the Bigots whom they have persuaded to support them, by always professing themselves Enemies to the Ease of those Persons who are of different Persuasions? Could *they* who, through the Course of their Lives, have boasted their Zeal for the Advancement of the Church to the Ruin of the Dissenters, satisfy their Followers without going into Persecution? And when it shall be in their Power, will it not be demanded at their Hands?

It must ever be impossible for any Party, or any Persons in Power, to give the CLERGY greater Protection in their National Rights, or more Countenance in their reasonable Claims, than the *Whigs* have done ever since the *Protestant Succession* became established. It will not then be sufficient in the *Tories* barely to do, what the *Whigs* so fully have done, and yet nevertheless have been accused of not having done enough. More will be demanded, and more must be yielded, under a *Tory Administration*. Men of warm Heads, and weak Judgments, will be made to believe, that the more their Brethren are oppress'd, the better themselves are favour'd. The Impressions of Charity will be effaced among People of different Sentiments. The Emissaries of Faction will be employ'd to foment religious Animosities, and an ambitious Ministry in taking away
away

away the *Liberty of Conscience*, will gain a great Party to assist them in destroying *all Civil Right*.

This Truth is so notorious, that all Men who think of such Matters must perceive, that a *Tory Ministry* could not avoid governing after this Manner; and were they to come in with different Intentions, yet the Temptations to forego those Intentions would be irresistible. Who is there so blind as not to discern the easy Transition, from opposing a Government on the *Principles of Liberty*, to administer that Government on the *tyrannical Principles of Divine Right*? Who sees it difficult to reconcile, their present Manner of considering themselves in a *State of Liberty* whilst out of Power, and their holding themselves, in Time to come, as vested with *Power of Divine Institution*? That natural Ambition which all Men have, more or less in Degree, to be independent of Laws, will invincibly urge a *Tory Ministry* to set up that Prerogative which gives them *such Independency*. And when *Divine Right* is the Growth of their own Plantation, can it be thought that they will not eat of its Fruit? That they will not as greedily, as heretofore, swallow all the Notions of a *Right from Heaven*? And what is worse, compel a *whole People* to swallow them? After which, what can be expected, but that so *divine a Monarchy* must have as *divine a Monarch*? And the Sages of the Faction will satisfy the Populace, what Person it is who hath
always

always had in him the *eldest Pretensions* to a Power, which cannot be of *heavenly Extraction*, without being, at the same Time, an *unalienable Inheritance*.

This Truth thus manifest, that *Tories* will be *Tories*, let the Event of Things turn out in any Shape, What must become of the *Whigs* under this *Tory* Empire? Can they hope to have Place, for their Persons or Principles under the Operations of such a *Tory* System? Will such *Whigs* accede as *Tory* Instruments? Or, will such *Tories* receive them as *Whig* Dictators? If such *Whigs* pretend to form a *Whig Ministry*, Will not all the *Tories* at once exclaim—*Did you mean to cheat us, and after having turned out your OLD Friends, did you propose to keep out your NEW Allies!* If, on the other Hand, the *Tories* set up such a *Tory Ministry*, must not the *Whigs* be equally loud against *that Cheat*? And amidst this reciprocal Clamour of Fraud and Deceit (one Side exclaiming *You would cheat us!* and the other recriminating, *You would cheat us!* whilst both make it their Business to *cheat as they can*;) In this Scramble for Power and Employments, where will be the *Coalition of Parties*, how long will it exist, and what Blessings will it produce?

When the few ambitious *Whigs*, who head the Opposition, have assisted the *Tories* in shutting the main Body of the *Whigs* out of Doors; how will they be able to dispute their Points with that great Body of *Tories* which they shall

shall have taken in? Or, in this Dispute, which Scale is most likely to weigh the heaviest, and which to fly up and kick the Beam? Which contending Party will soonest throw the other out of Play: An Handful of Whigs, who shall have cut themselves off in their Anger from all the Party, and all the Power, which could help and relieve them? Or, a *Legion of Tories*, standing firm and entire, in one compacted *Phalanx*?

This proves beyond Dispute, that the *angry Whigs* in destroying a *Whig Ministry*, are destroying their own Weight and Importance; that from the Moment wherein the Opposition shall prevail, the *Whigs who are now opposing* must be ruin'd in common with the *Whigs whom they now oppose*; that they will no longer be of any Credit with their unnatural Collegues, than whilst they are destroying their injured Friends; and that their only Advantage over those Friends, the only Advantage of this Alliance, will prove *in their being last destroy'd*. They will find, that whatever Use they are now allowed to be of, by *Tories* out of Power, those very *Tories*, when in Power, will be too Mighty to want their Assistance, and too Insolent to thank them for it. They will find, that they must be content, to incorporate themselves in the universal Faction as the *Slaves of the Tories*, or be destroyed by their Vengeance as the *Remnant of the Whigs*. They must then submit, to the

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raging Will and Humour of a Faction whose standing Maxim it hath always been, *to tolerate no Government when the Ministry is not of their Complexion, and to tolerate no Liberty when they are the Ministers of a Government*; denying to the Prince whom they dislike, all the Duties of Allegiance, and to the People whom they rule, all the Claims of Right and Enjoyment of Liberty.

Did the *angry Whigs*, in that *Coalition of Parties* for which they thus warmly contend, so much as suggest their Desire to extinguish this destructive Spirit, or to change the Principles of the *Tories* with whom they are reconciled, we might then have some Glimmering of Hope, that the Tyger would change his Skin, and the Leopard lose his Spots. But their Manner, of destroying the *Whig Power*, under the Pretence of acting upon *Whig Principles*, is to my Apprehension, the same thing, as if the *Papists* were to ruin the *Reformed Churches*, under the Pretence of acting, on the *Principles of the Reformation*: After which, should it ever be accomplished, as *Papists* would not less be *Papists* than they had been, but more terribly armed with Power to enforce the worst of their Principles; so the *Tories*, after such a Deceit upon the *Whigs*, would be no less *Tories* than at any time they had been, but more violent in Proportion to the Means of Violence which should be in their Hands.

It

It is evident, that the *Whigs in Opposition* have no Desire, that their *Tory Allies* should renounce *Tory Principles*. These angry *Whigs* have drawn up a *Solemn League and Covenant*, the single and entire Obligation of which is, to *pursue the Ministry even to Destruction*. The Means of attaining this virtuous End consist in an Opposition to *all the Measures* of Government. The *Doctrine of Comprehension* hath run in this Strain, “ That
 “ though a Man be a *Tory*, that though he
 “ be a *Jacobite*, yet let him subscribe to
 “ this Vow, he shall have the Assistance of
 “ *Whigs* against *Whigs*, without exacting from
 “ him any Declaration or Engagement in
 “ Support of the *Protestant Succession*, in
 “ Support of the Rights of the People, or
 “ the Principles of the Constitution: Let
 “ him be the same hearty *Opposer of the Ad-*
 “ *ministration* as the angry *Whigs* are, he
 “ shall have their full Consent to be the
 “ same *Tory* and *Jacobite*, as he and his native
 “ Faction have at any time been.” A Cove-
 nant more enequal, as well as more fatal,
 than that of the bloody *Triumvirate* of *Octavius*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*: For there,
 though each of the Parties gave up the Lives
 of their dearest Friends to the Demands of
 their Alliance, yet no Man sacrificed an
 illustrious Relation without an Equivalent,
 from his Collegue: But here, the *Leaders of*
 the angry *Whigs* have given up the BODY
 OF THE WHIGS, to the cruel Demands of

their *implicable Enemies*, without even requesting that those Enemies, in their turn, should give up the most *known Jacobite*, or the most detested *Emissary of the Pretender*.

The *angry Whigs* have shewn, in all their Proceedings, that they will load *their Allies* with nothing which may be of ill Digestion. They will draw them to support no Projects, which *Tories* or *Jacobites* would be ill disposed to support. They will draw them to oppose no Measures, which *Tories* or *Jacobites* would not be willing to oppose; nor any Thing but what such Persons would oppose of their own pure Zeal. If they had ever brought one *Tory* to profess himself a *Whig*, one *Jacobite* to do any Thing prejudicial to the *Pretender's Interest*, or even disagreeable to the *Pretender's Inclination*, they might boast of having made one Step to a *Coalition of Parties*: But if, on the contrary, whilst they have exacted it from no Man to shew his Departure from the *Jacobite Cause*, they have, at the same Time, been most industrious themselves to manifest their Departure from the opposite Interest; if whilst they have laughed out of Countenance all Manner of Warmth against the *Pretender*, They have, at the same Time, been Examples of Coldness and Indifference to the *Protestant Succession*, and have made it the Rule of Duty amongst themselves, to shew as much Neglect as possible of the *present Establishment*, and as much Animosity at all Kind of Measures against the Cause of us
abjured

abjured Competitor: If this hath been the Tenor of their Proceedings, they can never call this by the Name of advancing a *Coalition of Parties*, but rather an avowed Attempt to sacrifice Principles, to give up the Constitution into the Hands of its Enemies, and the Publick Rights to the Spoil of the Publick Invader.

For what can the Consequence of such Proceedings be, should their Success answer up to their Wishes, but that Men must be loosened from the Ties which engage them to the Support of their own Happiness: And that as no Community, according to *Machiavel's* Opinion, can be of long Duration, when those who can only support it, wander from the first Principles which produced its Establishment; so when the *Whigs*, the Friends of the present Succession, grow cold in the Cause of their Darling Constitution, encouraging by their Indifference to it, the Warmth and Violence of Factions against it: Such a Conduct must hazard the Dissolution of this Frame of Government, and the most active Power must, in this Case, be necessary to renew the Principles on which the Government is founded.

It is too common with Men to deceive themselves, and in nothing more than in the fond imagination, that *particular Tories* may be taken into Power, or that *particular Jacobites* may be received into Trust, without Danger to the Interest of the whole. I do admit, that there have been, and may be, Particulars of
either

either Denomination, as eminently distinguished by their Talents and Abilities, as by the dangerous Application of them. And were such Men taken into Confidence, supposing that they would not betray it (which is a Supposition wherein we ought well to be assured before we rely on its Safety) they might, in their own Particulars, be of no alarming Consideration. But when we reflect, that *no such Person* can come into Power without zealously desiring, and endeavouring, *to bring his whole Party after him*; that his Affections, his Obligations, his Attachments, prompt him to this most dangerous Measure; and that he must be false to himself, to his Friends, and to his own Heart, if he doth not introduce his old Party: The World must from hence be satisfy'd, that the bringing of a *single Jacobite*, or a *single Tory*, into the Administration, is a *Leading Measure* to the bringing in of *all*.

Let Gentlemen reflect on the Measure which are daily promoted, and the Lesson which are every where taught, to destroy in the Minds of the People the Sense of the Difference between Tyranny and Liberty, by infusing the false and fatal Notion, that they have been *Losers by the Revolution*; that they had *better Princes*, and *happier Times* before than since the Succession hath been established *in the Protestant Line*; that the Party which would have prevented, and rose in Arms to prevent, this Succession from taking Place

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were not *Enemies to the Constitution*; and that, though *Enemies to the Succession*, they would be *better Ministers* under it than the *truest Friends* of it; that all the *Distinctions of Whig and Tory* are lost; that the *Dispute between the KING and the Pretender* is over; that it is impossible in any *Vicissitude of Affairs*, that *Foreign Courts* can assert a *Jacobite Title*; or that *domestick Faction*, can abet such *Foreign Powers*, much less that the *Party* who once were that *Faction* can ever cabal upon any such future *Occasion*; that the *Fathers of the Jacobite Party*, who are dead, have not tinctured the *Education of their Sons* with *Jacobite Principles*; nor the *Sons* who survive, retain the *Impressions of their Family Education*: Let this which is the reigning *Discourse* amongst the *Leaders of Opposition*, this which is the *Spirit of their Dissertations on Parties*, these which are the *great CREDENDA of their Cause*, be weigh'd by reasonable *Men*, and if such *Men* can be of *Opinion*, that a *Constitution* can be safe whose *Security* is so loosely regarded, and whose *Enemies* are, at all *Adventures*, to be trusted as *Friends*, *this Coalition* is not that *Trojan Horse* which it hath been taken to be.

On the contrary, if it be too certain, that this is the *System of the Faction* against the *Government*; and that to destroy the *Ministry*, this *Party* are instilling *Notions* into the *People*, which must endanger the *Succession*; if it be apparent, that as they have

joined

joined both their *Sovereign* and *his Servants* in the same cruel *Invectives*, they have also exposed both *Majesty* and the *Ministry* to the same *Hazards*; and, making the Cause of either the Cause of both, by equally insulting and defaming the Characters of both. They have at length shewn the same Want of Kindness to the *Title* from whence their Prince derives his Authority, as to the sacred *Reputation* by which He is justly deserving of the Hearts of his People: If they have declared, in the most publick Places that it is their Resolution to clip and pare the Prerogative; though the Crown hath neither exercised nor claimed, since the happy Accession of this Royal *Family* to the Throne of these Kingdoms, any Prerogative but what the Laws allow, and publick Welfare requires should be allowed: There can be no Doubt that they are encroaching on the strongest Securities of the *Protestant Succession*; that as, from the Dictates of their mortify'd Ambition and disappointed Revenge, they incessantly labour to deprive their Prince of popular Affection, so they are equally combined to weaken his publick Authority: to the End, that he may be destitute both of Love and Service; that He may neither have the Hearts nor Hands of his Subjects, and may be reduced to that Shadow of a Sovereign, disobey'd and disregarded, without Support either from the Good Will of other Princes or from the natural Strength of his own Government.

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I would not be wanting in Charity or Candour to any Man or Body of Men, but I clearly see, that all their Schemes must have this Direction and Aim. It is visible, that they depend in all their Consultations on ONE, whom no Man can safely depend on in any Concern. If there is that Person among them, who can say of their *Great Oracle*, that He is not as capable of being the *Pretender's Minister*, on a proper Occasion, as ever He was in any Part of his Life; that He is hearty in wishing Establishment to the *Protestant Succession*, or that his rancorous Enmity to the *Illustrious House* as he formerly termed it with a *Sneer and a Curse* whenever he spoke of it, hath appeared less since his Rebellion than before he rebelled; that he loves the Great Prince who sits on the Throne, or that He doth not hate him; and this more cordially than He despises, the *vain Thing*, his Majesty's *wretched Competitor*: If there is that Man, who can answer for him in these Points, and hope for common Belief in his Assèverations----- let him stand forth to remove this Charge. But if there is not a Man of his Party, who doth not believe every Point which hath been charged against him: If his traiterous Gall is so publickly known against that High and August Character, (which Duty and Gratitude should move him to treat, not with Defamation and Reproach, but with that Reverence which might become a Person, who breathes the Air of this Country, by the Clemency of the Royal Family) if it is known, that this Gall against his Prince hath nothing

in the World to balance it, but his Contempt of the opposite Party.----- How are we secure that his Hatred of his lawful Sovereign will not, *once more*, prevail over his Scorn of the abandoned Rival? How are we secure, that he will not engage in that Interest again, if not from his *Esteem* of a *despicable Pretender*, yet from his habitual Affection to a *Jacobite Government*? And when this *Taint of Treason* infects his Words, his Arguments, his Invectives, his private Projects and publick Appeals to Mankind -----How dangerous a Light is He seen in? How much more dangerous are they who, knowing his Character, conduct themselves by his Counsels; and how liable are those to be deceived who, knowing nothing of Him, are publickly practis'd on by Him?

Did He not once conceive it to be the proper Subject of *Penal Laws* and *SCHISM-BILLS*, to restrain and punish Men for the private Education of Children, unless they gave a *Test of Orthodox Submission* to the Church; yet doth He discuss the *Doctrines of Allegiance*, in the Hearing of all the People, not only *without one Proof of Affection* to his Prince, but with a *Thousand Instances of virulent Hatred* to Him and all his Family?

Is not this Person receiv'd into the Counsels of Senators and Patriots? Is he not the Fountain of Advice, in all the Proceedings of a Party, known as he is, the Enemy of Mankind, One who was the most Flagitious in Power, and the most Rebellious out of Power; an Infamous Minister, a
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scandalous Fugitive, and a *Jobber for all Parties*, with a *Faith so notoriously frail*, as to be not only the Odium of his native Country, but a Proverb in all the Courts of *Europe*?

And is not this *the Man*, of whom it stands enrolled with the Laws of this Kingdom and inscribed in the Face of Acts of Parliament, *that in the most humble Manner he made his Submission to his Prince, and gave the strongest Assurances of his inviolable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for His Majesty's Service, and the Support of the present happy Establishment*, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept; yet hath not *this very Man* made every Action of his Life, since those Assurances were thus recorded, renounce and *bely* the OATH which he swore, to the Deceit of his *Sovereign*, and of *both Houses of Parliament*.

It were easy to shew, that more than himself are involved in his Crimes, and that those who incite or abet his Ingratitude, are or ought to be the *Partners of his Infamy*. It might be aggravated against them, without indecent Personalities (for of him the Journals, and the Rolls of Parliament, allow me to speak in an higher Strain of Condemnation, than, in strict Regularity, I ought in the Case of other Persons.) But, not to exceed just or decent Limitations, let me call on the *People of Britain*, to consider the GREAT INCENDIARY whom I have described, in that Light wherein he appears to all Men; and let every one fairly reflect in his own Mind — — Who it is, that

we know to be, immediately and absolutely govern'd by him? Who they are, that are linked and bound together, in all their Affairs, with his Pupils? And if his Pupils *lead* one Party, and *draw* the Leaders of the other Party collegued together in the Opposition.———
 Let us be satisfy'd, Whether this Man of *Guilt* and *Treason* is not the PRIMUM MOBILE of ALL.

Do we not see, and read HIM from Week to Week, shedding Defamation and Disaffection from that Pen, which he once employ'd to sue for Mercy, and prostitutes now to make the Prince on the Throne, and his Royal Family, odious to their People, after He hath been a Debtor to Royal Indulgence.——— HIM who the *last*, of all Men, should have taken up the Pen to blot the Fame of others; whose wild, whose profligate, and perfidious Actions had cover'd his own Name, and Character with the blackest Infamy.——— HIM who the *last*, of all Men, should have taken up the Pen to dispute the *Terms of Allegiance*, after having broken his *Oaths of Allegiance*. And who on the *Honour even of an Enemy* was bound, never to lift up his Hand, or Voice, against the Peace of that Government which had so graciously restored him to the Benefits of its Protection.

Whilst reading a long Course of Abuse, against the Prince on the Throne, the Servants whom he honours with his envied Choice, and the Service which he graciously approves; we
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see this *Great Prince* and his illustrious Family, invaded in the tenderest Concerns, by one whose Life was forfeited by his Treasons, and whose Liberty is the Effect of their Indulgence: Who is there that doth not reflect with the highest Indignation, on those who can adopt so much Baseness, Ingratitude and Treachery, to be the Mouth of their Faction; receiving his Directions, and publishing his Slanders; embarking in all the violent Measures which He can dictate, avouching all the malicious Falshoods which He can devise, and stamping *with the Credit of their Party* his Misrepresentations of Persons, his fallacious Account of Things, and insidious Attempts to corrupt the Allegiance of the People.

Is it hard to determine, that they who act from *such an Adviser*, must be the Instruments of the *worst Advice*? That they who disperse the Works of such an Hand, scatter Arrows, Poyson and Death? Or, that they who know his Guilt, yet propagate his Mischief, are wilful Abettors of his Crimes, and Pandars to his Iniquity? Is it likely, that a State will return to its first Principles, where the People are persuaded by One, whose Life having been employ'd to subvert the Constitution, his dishonest Art must naturally be engaged to lead Men astray from all the Principles which strengthen or sustain it?

Is it possible, that He whose Soul is set on promoting Strife, and whose unhappy Hand hath been active in all the Contentions which have arisen since He was born, can be sincere
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in pretending to conciliate Mankind; and though hourly employed in fomenting Animosities, yet studious to heal the Divisions of the People? Can He have any other Meaning, in professing Zeal for a *Coalition of Parties*, than to make one Part of the Nation the Dupes and Slaves of the other; and by drawing the *Whigs* from their affectionate Care of the *Protestant Succession*, to renew the most dangerous and traitorous Attempts against it?

Whilst from the Effect of his treacherous and poisonous Attempts, too many of our natural Friends have shewed themselves *indolent*, in their Concern for our Safety; and that *Indolence* hath been made a Spur to the more vigorous Pursuits of our most *inveterate* Enemies: Whilst all the Sentiments of Duty or Obligation, which thankful Subjects can conceive, in Favour of a mild, benevolent, and gracious Sovereign, have been carefully discountenanced and suppress'd; that the People might be more easily susceptible of Impressions, in Favour of a *desperate Interest*: This *Rage* of our Enemies, and this *Coolness* of our Friends, have given Encouragement to infinite Frauds, destructive of all Truth, all Liberty, and even the Authority of Parliaments.

With this enormous Spirit and Design, the Parties who conduct themselves by the Advice of this great *Enemy to Publick Virtue and Happiness*, have, by every Kind of Deceit, misled the Opinions of the Populace, and misleading those Opinions, made this blinded Popularity a

Plea for wrong Judgments in the *last Resorts* of Justice. Thus they first *ensnare the Rabble*, and then *enslave the Guardians of the Laws*, by binding them down to the *Sense of that Populace* whose Sentiments they have *possess'd and debauched*.

There never was any Thing more destructive to the Being of a free Constitution, than this Practice; from which, if it obtain, the Enquiries of Parliament must lose the Liberty, the Dignity, and just Effect, without which they can be of no Value to the People.

This Practice hath constantly been used to raise a *Spirit before Enquiry*, which is to govern the Enquiry, to possess the Conscience, and precipitate the Judgment of great Assemblies. Gentlemen are persuaded, that they are to take up their Convictions *without-Doors*; that the Sense of the Populace is the *Truth of Things*; that what appears to be the *popular Sense*, ought to govern against the plainest Propositions which the Publick Interest can suggest to a Parliament; that whether the Point in Debate be right or wrong, that Side which is popular is the eligible Side of the Question; and, that it hath the Air of Integrity to close with the popular Opinion, though against the strongest Convictions of the Mind; that however unjust, Men really are in so doing, they will have the universal Reputation of being honest; and though they ruin the People, yet if they flatter the People, this will absolve them of the Guilt, and be accounted as Righteousness.

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Every Gentleman's Observation will shew him, where this hath been insinuated with uncommon Industry, and perhaps with too great Effect. But, for the Sake of my Country, I will hope, that true good Sense and Integrity will prevail against all that Vanity and wrong Judgment, which may tempt us to betray the Publick Interest for the Sake of Popular Applause, and to make the Dictates of vulgar Breath the only Rule of Judgment. We shall rightly consider, what Arts are employ'd to captivate this Breath; that Breath which will always be liable to the Deceits of false and ambitious Men, who, by confident Misrepresentations, may at any Time raise the Jealousies, the Fears and Animosities of Mankind. We shall be wise enough to trace Clamour to its Source, and Rage to its Original. We shall in every Publick Uproar, discern the Mover of the Commotion, distinguish between *the People* and the *Perverters of the People*, and place the popular Opinion, not to the Account of the Multitude who have adopted it without having weighed it, but to the Men who, for their own selfish Ends, obtrude it on their Country against their Country's Interest.

To this there ought to be the most constant Attention, or the Constitution itself is lost; for, if Gentlemen shew this Deference, this slavish Submission, to Publick Noise more than to Publick Interest; and yield up those Sentiments which they have formed on the strictest Enquiry,

ry, to those vagrant Opinions which the Multitude have taken up without Examination: They may rely on this Issue, that their Submission to Clamour will establish the Tyranny of Clamourers; that the Readiness with which they acquiesce in the raving Demands of the Populace, will afford endless Encouragement to stir up the Rage of the People; and that whilst Truth, whilst Reason, and the Interest of a whole Nation, are of less Weight than the Voice of congregated Ignorance, no Pains will be spared to delude this Ignorance, to work it up into Violence, and to make its Numbers appear most formidable; whereas, if a steady Adherence to the Publick Cause is shewn, in Defiance of Clamour, of Tumult, and popular Witchcraft, the Industry of Factions in raising such Uproars will be unsuccessful; nor will that Industry continue, when the Success of it shall cease.

Let Gentlemen consider what Schemes, what Projects and Designs have been sanctify'd, by these *Pretences of popular Applause*. Against the Liberty of *British Subjects*, and *British Parliaments*, it hath been most arbitrarily *treated as odious* to shew the Enormities which must have flow'd from their Effects. Our Parliaments were to have been made *Inquisitions*, for harrassing all who opposed the Views, or offended the Leaders of Faction. Every Member of the *House of Commons*, was to have been made subject to the Will and Pleasure of prevailing Parties; either to be kept in, or turned out, whenever he should be distinguish'd by the least considerable Grace of his

his Prince ; or should even renew a Lease of his Lands, held under the Grant of the Crown. It was struggled for, to have it enacted by Law, that any Member might have his *Qualification* disputed every Day of a Session, by any other who might be desirous to make him uneasy in his Seat ; that the Title of his Land might be subject to perpetual Enquiry, and himself never free from Questions to throw him out of Parliament. With the same Design of making private Factions *omnipotent*, and all the Powers of the Constitution *precarious*, it was insisted on to make such *Forces* as the Law allows, and Publick Safety requires to be kept up, *independent of the Sovereign who is their Supreme Commander* ; to give them their Commissions as *Estates in Fee*, not to be resumed by their Prince ; and to give them the Opportunity of turning *Courts Martial* into *Military Cabals*, by having Jurisdiction without any Controul, but from the Houses of Parliament : Whereby the Officers would, from being held in just Allegiance to their Sovereign, have been drawn within the Reach of Party Influence ; the *Army* would have been an *Appendix to an House of Commons*, or House of Lords ; and Factions would have had Encouragement to enter and reign within such Assemblies, thus vested with a Power to draw *Officers into Cabals*, by having a Right to remove on a general Address, whoever should not shew themselves tractable enough to deserve the Favour of *governing Parties* ; those Parties whose good Opinion must from thence be more solicited than the Grace of their Sovereign,

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since such Parties would reign in his Stead, and dismiss at their Pleasure the *oldest* and the most deserving Officer of the Army, when HE upon no Provocation might remove the *youngest* Ensign.

But these Schemes exist not now, except in the Heads of those who framed them; and it ought to be our Care for the future, that if they again are attempted they may be as happily defeated. It is this which demands our early Caution, that knowing the Tendency of such Projects, and the Intentions of the Projectors, no popular Noise may ensnare us to allow of them, when in our Consciences we can never approve them; and that, whatever Clamours may be raised, we attend to the Consequences of Things more than to the Humour of Times, or the giddy Judgment of the Populace.

The infinite Importance of this Argument may be seen, from the Spirit which hath shewn itself in some Men, and which if it were not subdued, would not only defy the Laws but destroy all our Liberties. ---- We have seen Attempts to keep up *Anniversary Tumults*; those Tumults have invaded Magistrates in their Offices, and even the HOUSE OF COMMONS in their Proceedings. Though the Wisdom of the Laws have provided, that no Application, Petition, or Address to either House of Parliament shall be accompanied with *excessive Number of People*, or with *more than Ten Persons*; and though this was provided by the Act of 13 Car. 2. Cap. 5. when the Thoughts of both Houses were filled with the sad Reflections of those Times, where-

in the Liberty of their Proceedings had been taken away, and the Lives of their Members endanger'd by the Outrage of armed Multitudes ; though the Sense of Parliaments is likewise to be seen on their Journals in this Matter, especially in the *Proceedings of the House of Commons* [27 February, 1699.] when that House though compounded of *Tory Patriots* and *Whig Opposers* of the Court, RESOLVED: " *That the*
 " *Inciting and Encouraging any Number of*
 " *Persons to come in a Riotous, Tumultuous,*
 " *or Disorderly Manner, in order either to*
 " *hinder or promote the Passing any Bill, or*
 " *other Matters depending before the House*
 " *being against the Constitution and Freedom*
 " *of Parliament) was an High Crime and Mis-*
 " *demeanour ;*" nor would proceed in their Business till the Inciters of the Tumult had been brought to the Bar: Though in this Manner the Law, and the Declarations of Parliament have been so express in this Point ; and though the Being of all our Liberties depends, on the *uncontrollable Liberty of Parliaments* : Yet have we seen a Party, enflaming the People by Falshood, lead that Populace, in Tumults, to the *Doors of the House of Commons* ; and the Persons of the Members threatned, nay assaulted, for the Exercise of their most sacred Privilege *in voting as Members of that House*.

Surely, Liberty is not the Cause of that Party who can invade it, in the Instance of an *House of Commons* ; or who establish Riot and Tumult as the Resort of the Rabble against *Supreme Legislative*

lative *Authority*. It is not the Question, what Proceeding of Parliament may have been there; by obstructed; all are liable to the same Violence. If an Invasion of an *House of Commons* is a Measure to be justify'd on any One Occasion, it is as much to be warranted and recommended in every one which can happen; and when the Use of it is once experienced, the Resort to it will be continual. As in *Rome* when the fatal Commotions of the People, conducted by the *Gracchi*, ended in Blood; the Commonwealth, which never before had seen any spilt, was never afterwards free from Blood: So when Tumult and Outrage shall once begin to awe the Liberties of a *British Parliament*, such Outrage will never cease till such Liberties are totally overthrown.

Who then can be so far deluded as to think, that those Men have the least friendly Intention to our Liberties, when they have stormed the Rights and Constitution of Parliament; or that they have any other View, in paring and retrenching the Power of the Crown, than that very View with which they invaded the Liberty of an *House of Commons*? A View to make themselves *arbitrary Tyrants*; Tyrants over their Prince; Tyrants over a whole Parliament, and over the Laws of their Country. Who can avoid discerning, that the same boundless Ambition, which makes this Faction so raging and violent to possess themselves of *most immoderate Sway*, makes them as grudging of any the *most reasonable Power* which can be reposed in their Prince for the Support of his Government?

ment? That, conducting themselves by this Principle, they would take away all the essential Powers of the Monarchy, whilst they oppose the Ministry; and all the Liberties of the People, were they to attain the Administration? That they have no Design in contriving Restraints upon Regal Power, but to break down the Fences which guard it from being seized by them, or other Invaders? And that, whenever the Administration of it shall come into their own Hands, they will repair those Fences with greater Zeal than ever they pulled them down? Making the Bulwarks of Prerogative *Batteries against Civil Right*, and the little Fingers of their Faction heavier, than the Loins of all preceding Administrations.

When therefore this Spirit is so clearly understood, what can induce us to aid a Faction in levelling the Boundaries of Power, whose sole View is *not to make the Crown less formidable to the PEOPLE*, but to their own *private Ambition*? A Faction who could they reduce the Power of the Crown as low as they wish it to be, would apply themselves to raise it higher than any *honest Englishman* can desire to see it; not that they would raise it *for the Benefit of their Prince*, whom they seek to make the *Captive of their imperious Ambition*, but they would make it exorbitant for the Benefit of *themselves* who would engross all Authority as the Property of their *selfish, corrupt, and insatiable Faction*; a Faction, whose Arrogance *dictates the Choice of a Ministry* to their Sovereign

vereign the KING, as if He were without the Liberty even of a Subject *in choosing his own Servants*; and who give us no Reason to doubt, that were they in Possession of his Service, they would leave him less Liberty *in judging of his Measures*, than they propose to allow him *in choosing his Ministers*.

This Truth, that we ought to give them no Countenance in their Encroachments upon the Crown, will appear from every Consideration of Duty to the King, and Regard to our own Preservation. That the *Powers* of the Crown should in general be favoured or distrusted, more in one Season than in another, will be easily seen by every Gentleman who thinks impartially about them. There is no Man will deny, that the Crown ought not to be abridg'd of any legal Power, or Influence in Times of War and Invasion. And it is as hard to deny, that the Crown ought not to be abridged, of any such Power or Influence, in Times of dangerous Faction, when the Weight is already too heavy on the popular Side. It is impossible to allow, that the Government *ought to be assisted against Invasions, and not against Factions*; unless we can think that an Enemy is more to be fear'd at a Distance than near at Hand, or that Danger from Abroad is more terrible than that which threatens us at Home.

As our Fathers would not accept of *Liberty of Conscience*, (reasonable as such an Indulgence must always seem to be) when they knew, it was only meant, and tended, to tolerate a Superstition destructive

destructive of all Liberty, and incompatible with all Conscience: So we with the same jealous Eyes may view, the like Attempts to extend any other Point of Liberty, when the Purpose of stretching it is, to destroy that Power which protects us, and more easily to introduce the Tyranny which would overwhelm us. We may in some Cases even wish to see the Thing accomplished, yet tremble at the Events which must follow it, from a *Combination of particular Circumstances*, and from the *Cabals of particular Factions*.

On the other Hand *Confidence* and *Trust in a Government* may with great and just Reasons be allow'd at certain Seasons; when we know the Prince, and the Ministry whom He employs, to be sincerely in the Interests of the People; when by the most certain Experience we are satisfy'd, that no Integrity or Zeal for the publick Cause is wanting in the Government. In a Case of this Nature, can we hesitate a Moment to shew that Government, greater Confidence than we can allow to a Prince or Ministry less deserving of it? And will this have any Weight in the World to give those Princes or Ministers, who ought not to be so largely trusted, the same Confidence which others had who were better entitled to it? Will not every Question of this Kind be a *new Question* to be determin'd, as Gentlemen approve or disapprove of the Persons in Power, and of their Proceedings? If it were to be said, that former Governments had been largely confided in and that not to confide as freely in any succeeding

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ing Power would argue an indecent Distrust of it: What Weight would this have in an Assembly, *knowing the Difference* between those whom they had trusted, and those whom they distrust? Would not a full Answer to such frail Arguments be *read in the Face of every Gentleman* present? And would not all of them act, by the Dictates of different Affection and Esteem?

Did this Nation suffer, by the Confidence which Parliaments reposed in our justly renowned *Queen Elizabeth*? Or, could the numerous Instances of full Confidence in the Justice of the Queen, and the Wisdom of her Ministers, support one Demand of the like Nature from her Predecessor? The same Men who had raised Money for her Service, on *probable* Suppositions that it would be wanted; and gave her, by their Liberality, Opportunities of remitting back to the People *Part of the Taxes*, which had been granted for her Service; These very Men would not trust *King James*, on certain Occasions, with *collecting the Subsidies* which they granted; but appointed Commissioners of their own to receive and apply the Money, according to the Appropriations of Parliament.

This different Behaviour to Princes is the *high Prerogative of English Liberty*. It is the *virtuous Use of Liberty* to trust, those who merit our Confidence as much as they deserve our Affection; whilst we should refuse this Mark of Esteem with Indignation, where there is not the same rightful Claim to it. What Gentle-

man, possessing an Estate, would not rely on the Virtue even of a Steward, with some Distinction of that peculiar Worthiness which He had experienced in Him? What People would not repose Confidence in a *Cicero*, different from that which a *Catiline* could expect from them? And what Reason can there be in Nature, that the *People of England* who see and know the Difference, between that Government or Administration which they now enjoy, and That which oppressed them within Five and Twenty Years past, should not make the just Distinction, by reposing Trust and Confidence in this Government, proportioned to the Jealousy, Distrust and Detestation, with which they distinguished a wicked and profligate Ministry?

These Reasonings are intended, not for the Purpose of vesting the Crown with Powers *too big for the Controul of Parliaments*, but to justify that Confidence of Parliaments in the Crown which they may grant or refuse, which they may continue or withdraw, on their own free Judgment of Persons and Things; nor on any Occasion are given for a longer Extent of Time, than, the Interval of a few Months, when Parliaments cannot continue Sitting.

By this right Measure and Application of Trust, the Constitution itself is best to be supported. It is incumbent on *Englishmen* to concur in the Support of *English Government*, for the Support of *English Liberty*; since these are inseparable Interests, and the *one* cannot exist without the other. It is incumbent on *Whigs* to support

support a *Whig Ministry*, since this is the only Security we can have, that our Government will not degenerate into Tyranny. And this we may depend on, that neither the Excellency of our Laws, nor the Vigour of our Constitution, will preserve us, if it shall be in the Power of our Enemies to alter the one, or to impair the other. The Hands which administer this Government, have the Fate of the People in their Power ; and after we have suffer'd, so many Oppressions, and the Apprehensions of worse, from the Iniquity of former Times: Can there be a Man in *Britain* insensible of the Mildness of the present Administration ? Can too much be done to support it, against private Ambition, against popular Prejudice, against the Malice, Revenge, and Defamation of THAT MAN whose Crimes had been the Ruin of us all, had not *the present Administration* prevail'd against his Abuse of Authority ?

As the Dispute was in those Days, whether He should continue in Power *to prevent the Succession from taking Place* ; the Contest is the same at this Hour, Whether He shall again come into Power *to make that Succession precarious* ? Whether this Man shall *continue attainted for his Treasons*, or shall be the *First Minister of Britain* ? Whether He who sacrificed the Interests of us and our Allies, shall preside in our Counsels at Home, and direct our Negotiations Abroad ? Whether He who long endeavoured to undermine, and afterwards rebelled to overthrow the Government,

shall be highest in the Favour and Trusts of his Prince? And whether a Party who think Him *worthy of being their Head*, their Oracle and their Orator, shall engross to themselves the Management of our Affairs, and all the Employments of their Country?

If this be the Contest between the *Court* and the *Country*, What *Court* can be so forlorn and abandoned, as ever to give such a Person Admission therein! What *Country* can be so infatuated, as to recommend Him thither! Is there a Man who professes Himself an *honest Man*, not to call Him *Englishman*, or *Whig*, that would not think Himself a *Barbarian* to force that Man into the *King's Closet*, whose Hand was employ'd to draw the *Pretender's Declarations*, long before that idle Work, the *Coalition of Parties*, existed even in Dreams? Is such Inhumanity to be found within this Kingdom, as to inspire the Thought, that a pardoned *Rebel* ought to be a *Minister*? Or is there such Absurdity existing on this Side of *Tipperary*, is it possible an *English Understanding* can teem with such a wild Imagination, as to conceive, that a *Rebel to our Constitution* can be the *Reconciler* of our Parties?

Yet horrible as it appears to thrust this Person by Violence into the *King's Service*, whom He cannot trust without consenting to betray Himself, his *Children*, and his *People*; a Person who is, of all others in the World, the most justly obnoxious to his Prince, and who is at once as notorious, for Enmity to his Royal Person

son as for Disaffection to his Royal Title: Can there be a Doubt, that a whole Faction are striving to make Him *first in the Management of Affairs*, after they have openly struggled to impose, the *lowest of his Creatures on the Capital City of the Kingdom?* And what stronger Evidence can there be required, of their Zeal to bring the *Head of a desperate Interest into Council*, when They would bring the *Tail of it into Parliament?*

Whilst we consider the Direction and Tendency of these Cabals, in such Lights, it would not be useless to carry our Reflections to *the other Side of the Alps*, and imagine how these Matters are thought of in the *Court of Bologna*, or in the *Palace of Albano?* Must not the Hopes of those Places be centred in the Accomplishment of a *Coalition of Parties?* Must not the Fate of their Cause be fixed upon the Success of this Project? Was it not once said, that the *Pretender* was the happiest Man in the World, if the *Whigs* were consenting to introduce Him; for then, there would not be a Voice in the Kingdom to exclude Him? And what must now be said of his Cause, if those who are *the only Men to keep Him out*, should approach so near Consent, as to *profess Indifference, on the Subject of his coming in?* What must his Expectations be, when He sees the whole Confederacy, which once rose in Arms to introduce his Title, promised Success in a Struggle for the Power of the Government? And when those, who
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were once his *Cabinet-Councillors*, shall come into the *Cabinet of the Prince on the Throne*, What shall hinder the *Pretender's Interest* from being the *Spirit of the Governing Party*, though his Person be not immediately placed at the Head of the Government? What can He more heartily desire, than to see that Faction come into Power, who shall ruin all Persons that have ever contributed to keep Him out, and shall advance and enrich the *whole Possé* of his Adherents?

When this Faction shall come into Power, if ever that Day shall befall us, and notwithstanding that they have been in *open Rebellion*, or *known Consultations* to dethrone the King, shall by the *strangest Revolution* that has yet happened be *Chief in his Service*; when their old Friends haunt their Levees for Preferment, and they accordingly recommend their *Jacobite Comrades* and *Led Captains* to the Favour of the Crown: Suppose the usual Question shall be asked, *Is the Person well affected to the Government?* What must be the Reply? Must They speak Truth, and say, that it is almost Six or Seven Years *since He drunk the Pretender's Health on his Knees*; and something longer since He ventured to wear in Publick, the *Badges of Disaffection on the Pretender's Birth Day?* What can They say in Common Honesty? That He is not a *Jacobite!* Or, rather that it is some Time since He thought it prudent to confess himself one? And will not the Case be of an universal Nature? Will it

not happen, in all other Kinds of Recommendation for Favour to the Prince on the Throne ?

Now when the *Treasury* shall be in the Hands of those who were once the *Leaders of that Cause* ; Can it be thought, that They will have no Bowels to their ancient Emissaries ; or that, the very *Bounty of the King* will not be turned to support the *Agents of the Jacobite Faction* ? When the *Admiralty* shall be in their Hands, will the Fleet have no *Officers* with Dispositions, to bring that very *Person* hither, whom by their Oaths and their Duty They are to keep from coming here ? When the *Army* shall be under their Influence, will the Sword never be trusted in Hands which would turn its Edge to wound the *Succession* ? When the *Militia* comes under their Direction, Will not the *Lieutenancies of all the Counties* be vested in Men, who were once the Ring-Leaders of Insurrection and Rebellion ? When *Church-Promotions* fall into their Disposition, will no *Nonjuring Priests* be invited to take the Oaths, that They may betray the Government ? And when the Stream of Favour runs in the *Jacobite Channel* ; when the *Ministry* shall be formed of Statesmen who have been *Jacobites* ; when the *Army* shall be commanded by Generals who have been *Jacobites* ; the Church illuminated by Bishops who have been *Jacobites* ; the Law expounded by Judges who have been *Jacobites* ; the *Quarter-Sessions* and *Affizes* crowded by Justices who have been *Jacobites* ; and the whole Fa-

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vour of the Crown dispensed to Persons *who* been *Jacobites*: In the Name of God, *What* will prevent *them* from being **JACOBITES** again? Or, what will preserve the *Protestant Succession*, when it hath not a Man in Power to secure it, whose Hand hath not been employ'd to subvert it.

It hath been the Merit of the present Administration, that, in there long Time of Power, They have kept out of Trusts and Employments all Persons disaffected to the Government; all *who have ever been in Arms* to introduce the **PRETENDER**, or, notoriously engaged to *set aside the Succession*. By adhering to this Measure the Government hath been established, in the Royal Family to whom it rightly belongs; and the *Jacobite Interest* hath been impoverish'd, weaken'd, and reduc'd to the lowest Ebb of Life. For, neither have the Heads of the Faction shared in the Publick Councils, nor their Agents participated of the Publick Treasure; They have neither had any Opportunity of betraying the Government, nor of growing rich by its Spoils; They have had no Hopes of advancing their Interests, either by Force or Fraud; They have gone through a long Scene of Disgrace, Distress and Despair; Their Numbers have dwindled, as their Strength hath decay'd; They have had the mortifying Circumstance attending them, that They could trust in none of their Leaders; and have found themselves broken and made contemptible, seeing themselves abandon'd and betray'd, by such of
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their Heads as the Government, at any Times, thought it convenient to take off by a *Pension*, or a *Place of Insignificance*, without suffering one of their Creatures to come into Favour along with such Persons; and thus, without trusting them on their own Part, making them hated and distrusted by all their former Party.

It is by *such an Administration*, and by such Measures, that the *Jacobite Interest* can only be rendered thus wretched, contemptible and harmless. But change the Scene upon them: Let their *ancient Leaders* be taken into Power, not as *depending Instrument*, but as INDEPENDENT MANAGERS, as Men who are to bring their own Sets of Creatures, and Agents, into all Kinds of Trust and Employment within their respective Departments: And let any Man judge, whether all the Emissaries of the *Jacobite Interest* will not immediately, be hanging upon them, be advanced by them, and enriched by the Treasure of a *Protestant Government* for the Advantage of a *Papish Pretender*.

It is far from my Thoughts to alarm myself, or others, with the Apprehension of their Numbers, or their Projects at present. They are few, despicable, and starving; and this for a very natural Reason, namely, that *they are out of Power*. But I would not have any Man flatter himself with so delusive a Notion, as that their Numbers can be *few*, when their Leaders become *great*; or that they can be a despicable Party, when the Heads of them

shall be in the Administration. The *beggarly* Courtiers of an *exiled Pretender*, will import themselves hither, and the *Nest of Jacobites* at *Boulogne* will swarm in the Streets of *London*, whenever the *Whigs* are thrown out of the Administration. The Success which they find in all Applications for Favour; the Preference which they will have in their Competitions, with all who have been of contrary Principles, will recommend their Cause to those who would share their good Fortune. Prosperity can never fail to make Profelytes; Men will counterfeit *Jacobitism*; nay, they will be *Jacobites in earnest*, when they see that *Jacobitism* is the Standard of Merit in the State, and the Complexion of the Ministry. All the *Courts of Europe*, which formerly favoured the *Pretender*, will again espouse his Interests, and be kind to his Person, when they know that it will not offend such Persons as are *first in the Councils of Great-Britain*; and when they see such Men at the *Head of Affairs*, as their own Ministers were formerly directed to cabal with, as Men at the *Head of his Interests*.

On my own Part, I do not urge these formidable Apprehensions from any Fears, that such a Cause will ever have this Success. But I am not improperly shewing the *possible Cases* which may happen, in the Vicissitudes of human Affairs: Cases so very possible, that if the Administration shall ever pass out of the Hands of the *Whigs*, it is impossible but that they
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must happen; and therefore seeing how the Opposition is carry'd on, I cannot help seeing the Events which must follow its Success; nor can I avoid thinking, that the more notoriously *these Consequences* are seen, the less likely will such Opposition ever be to succeed.

This being apparent, the Conclusion follows with irresistible Force, that as *Tories* will be *Tories* in all Events, and perhaps *Jacobites* likewise; it is the Duty of *Whigs* to be WHIGS IN EARNEST, and to renew their first Principles of Zeal and Affection, if they would renew the Strength, and confirm the Establishment of the Protestant Succession.

We are now entering on the Proceedings of a new *Parliament*, wherein all that Zeal and Affection for our happy Constitution will be requisite, in every Man who hath its Welfare at Heart. He must see that we are not contending about Persons, but *Principles*; that the Rage against the present Ministers flows, from a stronger Passion for supplanting their Power; and that this Ambition hath its Root in a *dangerous Cause*; that this Power if attained by those who seek it will be directed to publick Destruction: And as those who are our *natural Enemies*, will be armed with the Means of Ruin; those who are our *assured Friends*, will be thereby deprived of the Means for our Preservation.

The *Gentlemen in Opposition*, it must be acknowledged, have spared no Pains to unite
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the Friends of the Government, by the injurious Usage which they have already given them; and treating them with so much Abuse, whilst they have no Power but to shew their Spight, have convinced us what greater Lengths of Injustice they will proceed to, whenever they may have full Power to wreak their Vengeance. It hath been a refined Maxim of *Patriot-Politicks* to defame a whole Parliament, the better to deprive an Administration of its Friends, on the wise Expectation, that the more they shall slander Gentlemen for voting and acting against the Opposition, the more tractable those Gentlemen will be, and more ready to join with that Opposition which hath injured them. It is indeed true, that this *Defamation of Parliaments* can never consist with the *Liberty of Parliaments*; and an armed Multitude at the Doors of either House, would not be a greater Invasion of the Freedom of their Votes, than malicious Misrepresentations; but it is as true, that Gentlemen may despise *Defamation*, tho' they may not be so able to resist *Violence*; and it deserves Attention from the *Whigs*, as I hope it will never be without their Resentment, that those, who pretend themselves zealous for the boasted *Coalition of Parties*, have been the most busy in personally abusing every *Whig* whom they profess, reconcile.

Whether the *Whigs* can be fond, of agreeing to a Party who have loaded them, with

with all malicious Aspersions, pointed them out to the Reproach of their Country, and even to the Fury of an incensed Multitude, I will not be so bold as to think a possible Case, lest I should be guilty of supposing they want the Spirit of Men, and have neither the Resentments of injured Honour, nor just Indignation against the Authors of base, false, and ungentleman-like Invective. I can no more conceive, that *Gentlemen of Worth* will never reconcile themselves to those, who have conspired to take away their *Fame*, than that they would associate themselves with such, as should attempt to take away their *Lives*; or than that they would put themselves under the Direction of one, whose Life and Fame were equally forfeited by his Crimes against his Country, and who naturally busies himself in polluting fair Reputation, from the Envy that all Deformity bears to that which is amiable in the Eyes of Men.

On the contrary, such Repetitions of Injury will be daily Evidences of their *Insincerity* who, tho' widening the Breaches, profess the Design of healing the Divisions of their Country. They will convince the most prejudiced Minds, that it is not the Views of these Cabals, or the Aim of their Harangues, to end the *Strife of Parties*, but to encrease the *Power of Faction*; nor do they desire to make both Sides *Friends*, but to make one Side *Destroyers of the other*; and,

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tending, that the *Whigs* should disarm themselves of their best Securities, give the *Tories* an Opportunity of making the *Whigs* a Sacrifice.

It is astonishing, that such a Proposition can be heard with *Patience*. It is what I have mentioned in the Beginning, and can never too often repeat, a PROPOSITION TO THE WHIGS, That, for effecting a *Coalition of Parties*, they are to give up at least one *Moiety* of that Power which they enjoy at present, for some unknown Comforts to be obtain'd by such a *Coalition*; and when they have thus *tamely surrender'd* one *Half*, they are then to *dispute*, as well as they are able, *whether the other Half shall not be taken from them*.

There can be no great Pains requisite to shew that this Faction of *Tories*, like the Fox in the Fable, could it once get its Head into Power, would soon draw the whole Body after it. There needs as little Pains to shew the *Whigs*, the Difference between having the Favour and Confidence of their Prince, entire to themselves, and sharing those Advantages with their common Enemies. They must necessarily see, that whilst the Power of the State is in their own Hands, neither they can be oppress'd, nor their Sovereign endanger'd; neither will this Power in its utmost Extent enable them to oppress others, whilst it is check'd by the natural Power of the People. But if once by *Tame-ness*, or *Negligence*, they give up that *Privilege*

privilege of serving their Prince, which is their just Reward of placing Him on the Throne, they will be destroy'd by a Torrent of Faction, their whole Party will be extinguish'd, and the prevailing Party will have none to balance its Power, or to restrain its Rage.

In this Manner must the *Whigs* be lost, scatter'd without Leaders, pursued without Refuge, and wrong'd without Remedy. But all this is a Vision, an empty Dream, a Phantom that can never affrighten them; if they prudently value the Advantage of a *Leader* to conduct them, a *Prince* to support them, and the *Laws* to protect their Proceedings, wherein they must ever be secure; unless they shall fail in their *Affection* to that *Ministry* who lead them, who collect them together, and keep their Interest entire; or, unless they shall be wanting in Duty and Gratitude, to their gracious Sovereign who hath placed his Confidence, where he found the most natural Inclination to support his Service.

That the *Whigs* will continue to be just to themselves, may be rely'd on from the vast Importance of this Duty, which all must know so fully, that it need not be farther insisted on. That their Enemies are fierce or numerous is the strongest Argument, in the World, that they themselves should continue firm and unmoved. They are greatly superior to the opposing Parties, and they may encrease that Superiority by their Zeal and Unanimity. There is no *Coalition* so necessary

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fary, as the *Coalition of Whigs*, and this is a practicable as it is desirable. There hath been no Division so unnatural, as that which hath happen'd amongst the *Whigs*; and it is happy that it hath been unsuccessful. Had those who begun it, known, how long it would have proceeded without attaining their Purpose, they would have continued good *Friends and Allies* with us to this present Hour: But they have found, to their Shame and Confusion, that the Administration hath stood a longer SIEGE than that of *Troy*, and is not taken at the *Ten Years End*.

F I N I S.

